000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
● [412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

•412

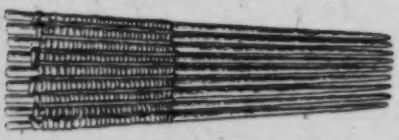

Fig. 5. Wooden Comb for Combing Hair.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

411 The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

412 411 The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hour-glass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

[Text continues on page 50]

[34]

411
412
531

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos. 2466, 3881.)

412 411 [531] (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9). The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller 412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake [177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133). [326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

411 Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

411 554 Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have completely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

4/2 241 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

412 241 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig-leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

[531] The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

2: Meyer--123A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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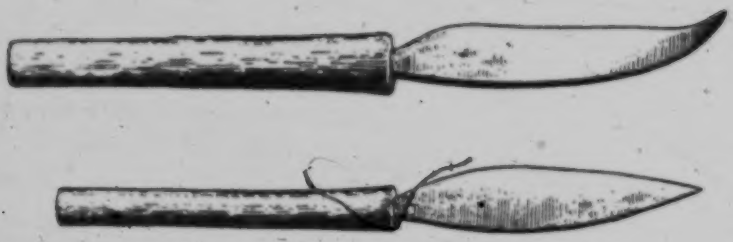

Fig. 16. Barundi Work Knives.

(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.

[412] [411] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that

135 316 325 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The

326 [439] Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

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Stone Anvil

Pin for Engraving Ornaments.

File

Iron Hammer.

Iron Bolt for Forging Concave Forms.

Fig. 17.

(All 5 figures in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

[439] I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form [301] of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

2: Meyer--270 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 36

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

Plate 37

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Plate 43

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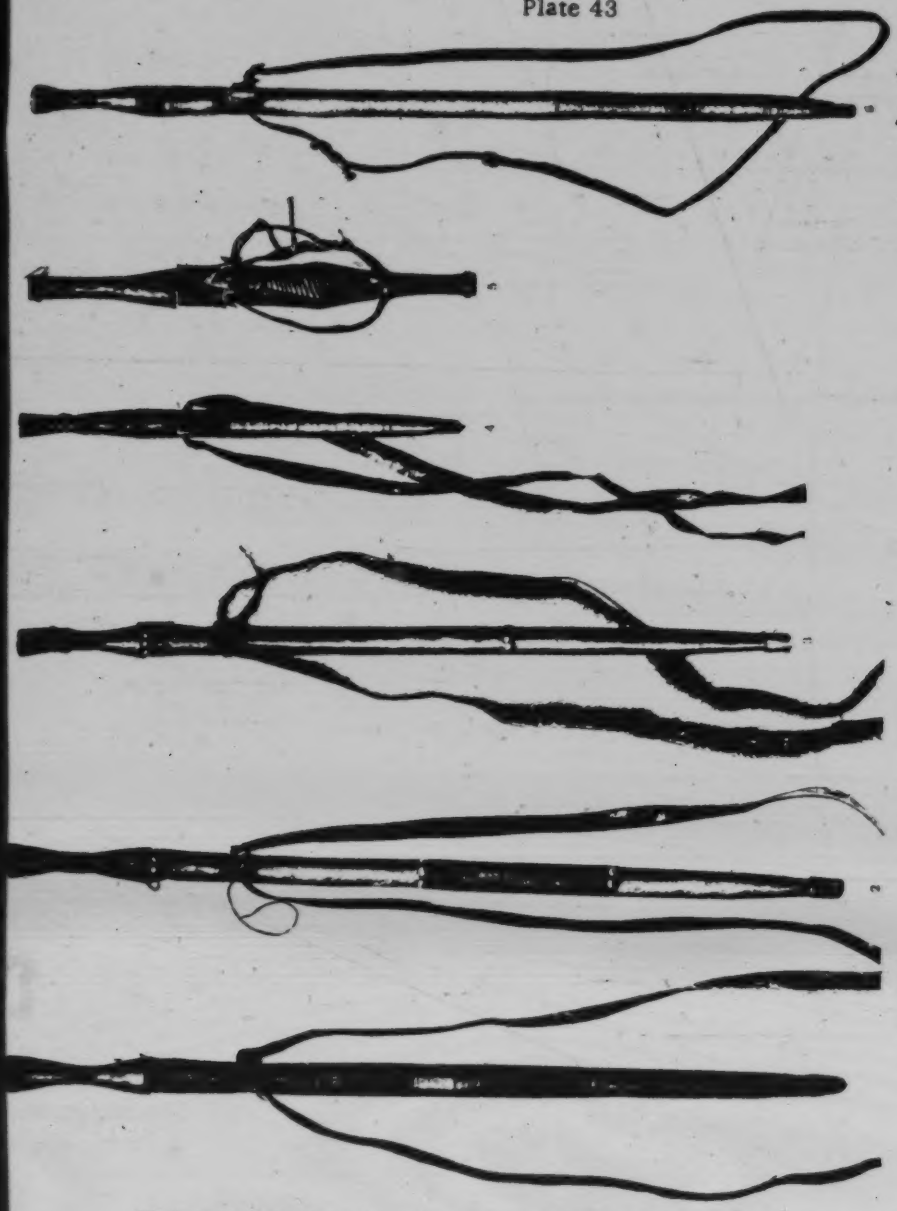

Knives in Wooden Sheaths Wound with Copper Wire and with Leather Straps; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 51 centimeters; No. 2) 52 centimeters; No. 3) 52 centimeters; No. 4) 30 centimeters; No. 5) 31 centimeters; No. 6) 67 centimeters.

2: Meyer--280 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 46

412

Agricultural and Household Implements; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Carved piece of wood for stirring millet gruel, 68 centimeters; No. 2) Digging stick with iron point, 150 centimeters; No. 3) Iron hoe for field work with wooden handle, 47 centimeters long; No. 4) Iron slashing knife for field work, 53 centimeters long; No. 5) Sickle for cutting bananas, 76 centimeters long.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538 The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

195 The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

644 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully [521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 778 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

> 1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

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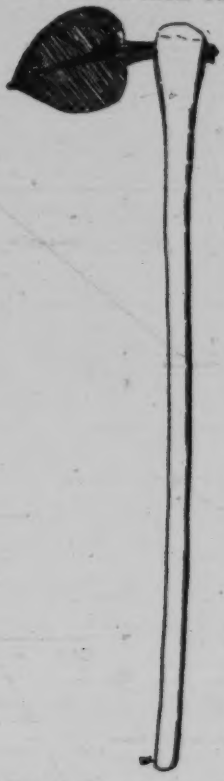

The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[442]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

6: Czekanowski--22 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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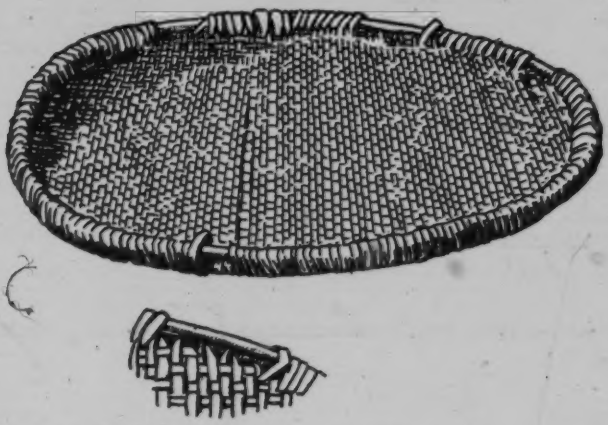

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

311 with extensive forests which were destroyed by farmers, so that at the present time in northern Nduga, for example, there are no forests to be found. Quite recently the forest boundary has receded in Mulera and Bugoye as a result of colonization. When I visited

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Fig. 29. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13111. Handle: 68 centimeters long.)

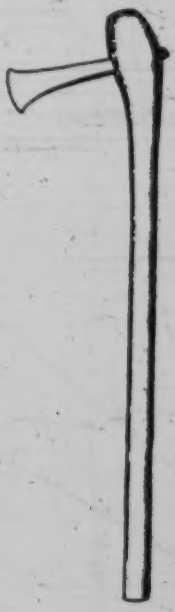

Fig. 30. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13060. Handle: 60 centimeters.)

Fig. 31. Bush Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15036.)

the Batwa of Chief Chuma, I saw that half their huts were already surrounded by Bahutu fields; the others were still hidden in the forest. In only a few years the farmers have penetrated this far; the Batwa could all still remember the time when their village lay deep in the forest.

412 The larger trees are felled with axes; smaller ones and the brush are cut with sickle-shaped bush knives. The axes (intolezo)

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (icatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 372 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 197 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 554 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C. T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

322 463 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly specialized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

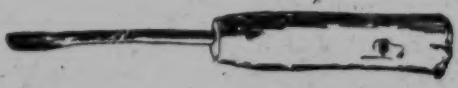

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Usindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

325 [156] A smith's tools consist of bellows, iron hammers, and a stone anvil, besides lesser tools such as an earthen pot for water, a brush to sprinkle the coals when the surface begins to glow, and pieces of wood to clamp together the red-hot iron.

In Kissaka the bellows (see Plate 12, Vol. III) is a clay vessel, the bottom of which is elongated to form a rather long horizontal pipe. The upper opening of the pot is covered with a goat skin in such a way that a stick at the center can either

Fig. 48. Diagram of Air Circulation between Bellows and Funnel.

raise it or lower it in the pot. The resulting change in size of the area covered causes a shifting current of air in the horizontal pipe leading out of the bottom. Two bellows form one unit operated by one man and adequate for ordinary forging work. Dr. Kandt (1) shows an illustration of a double wooden bellows which

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 362.

I repeatedly saw only in north Ruanda and among the Bakondjo [Konjo]. A clay funnel sunk into the hearth is laid in front of the openings of the two bellows. Puffs of air produced by rapidly pressing down the skin-membrane are directed into the funnel alternately from the two openings. According to the pressure thus produced, the draft reaches the center of the hearth by way of the funnel, whereas the air sucked into the bellows comes through the space between the funnel and the bellows. In this manner primitive bellows without valves direct air through a funnel to the center of the hearth.

[412] The hammers, including the handle, are made from one piece of iron. The handle is round in cross section, whereas the hammer has four ribs for pounding, producing an X-shape in cross section.

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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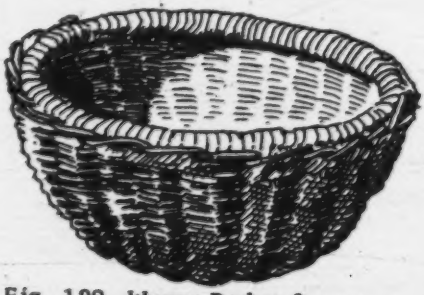

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p.89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production.

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production?

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce.

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view.

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim

[1] [rugo: the basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 20 -- analyst]